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Message Text

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43
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 NEA-11 ISO-00 ACDA-19 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 TRSE-00 SAM-01

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-10 OMB-01 OIC-04 CU-04 IOE-00 DRC-01

/151 W
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O R 161110Z FEB 74
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4046
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 92
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USINT CAIRO
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLOSACLANT
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY RABAT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 994

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJECT: CSCE STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-FEBRUARY 11-15

1. SUMMARY. CSCE HELD ITS BREATH THIS WEEK DURING SOLZHENITSYN'S ARREST, AND BREATHED A COLLECTIVE SIGH OF RELIEF UPON HIS EXPULSION FROM THE SOVIET UNION. OTHER-
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WISE, THE CONFERENCE WAS BUSILY DRAFTING IN MOST SUBJECT

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AREAS, WITH PROVISIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF FIRST PARAGRAPHS OF SEVERAL SUBCOMMITTEE TEXTS. EC-NIME AND NATO GROUPS COMPLETED CONSULTATIONS ON A DRAFT FRAMEWORK PAPER FOR THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT, TO BE TABLED NEXT WEEK. END SUMMARY.

2. IMPACT OF SOLZHENITSYN ARREST--SOLZHENITSYN'S ARREST LEAD TO PESSIMISTIC CORRIDOR SPECULATION ON THE FUTURE OF THE CONFERENCE. MOST DELEGATES AGREED THAT CSCE IS NOT AFFECTED DRAMATICALLY BY OUTSIDE EVENTS, BUT THOUGHT THAT IN THE LONG-TERM WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD DETENTE WOULD INEVITABLY SOUR, AND THAT TOUGHER EASTERN AND WESTERN POSITIONS WOULD RESULT. THE CONFERENCE EXHIBILTED COLLECTIVE RELIEF ON RECEIVING NEWS OF SOLZHENITSYN'S EXPULSION, WHICH WAS GENERALLY VIEWED AS RESULT LEAST LIKELY TO UPSET DETENTE.

3. DRAFT "FINAL ACT"--EC-9 AND NATO CAUCUS COMPLETED CONSULTATION ON DUTCH DRAFT FRAMEWORK FOR "FINAL ACT" OF CSCE. WHILE SEVERAL NATO DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING US, HAD RESERVATIONS ON TITLE AND FORMAT OF THIS PAPER, MOST URGED EARLY CIRCULATION TO THE CONFERENCE, INCLUDING COMMITTEE III (HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION), AS A STIMULUS TO DRAFTING AND AS FULFILLMENT OF LAST WEEK'S COMPROMISE TO START WORK ON COMMITTEE III PREAMBLE. DRAFT "FINAL ACT" WILL BE CIRCULATED TO COORDINATING COMMITTEE NEXT WEEK.

4. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--DESPITE EARLIER SOVIET INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY, DRAFTING OF LIST OF PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES PROCEEDED SLOWLY, AS EAST AND WEST TOOK STUBBORN POSITIONS ON PRINCIPLES OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. EC-NINE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT PROGRESS ON PRINCIPLES WILL DEPEND ON PROGRESS IN BASKET III (HUMANITARIAN) SUBJECTS. IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY (SWB) ON IMPLEMENTATION, SOVIETS SHOWED WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE, AS PART OF A RENEWED EFFORT TO GENERALLY DOWNGRADE SWB.

5. MILITARY ASPECTS--CONTINUING GENERAL DEBATE REMAINING FOCUSED ON UK DRAFT RESOLUTION ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S). FIMALIER POSITIONS WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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EXPRESSED BUT SOVIETS REFRAINED FROM MAKING STATEMENT ON DRAFT. UK REP TOLD NATO CAUCUS THAT HE HAD BEEN APPROACHED BY SOVIET REP WHO INDICATED SOVIETS MIGHT BE PREPARED TO COMPROMISE ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, AND INTIMATED LEMITED FLEXIBILITY ON STUDY OF MOVEMENTS. WHILE NATO GROUP AGREES THERE SHOULD BE NO QUICK REACTION TO SOVIET COMPROMISE MOVES, THERE IS OBVIOUS INTEREST IN SOVIET PROPOSITION,

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WHICH MAY RESULT IN PRESSURE ON US TO MODITY OUR OWN
POSITIONS.

6. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT--IN
ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENT SUBCOMMITTEES DRAFTING OF RESOLU-
TIONS CONTINUED AT A SLIGHTLY IMPROVED PACE. ONLY MAJOR
ISSUE DEALT WITH WAS DEFINING ROLE OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL
COOPERATION AGREEMENTS. SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE
DID NOT MEET.

7. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--BULGARIANS OPENED DRAFTING
IN FULL COMMITTEE WITH REVISED DRAFT PREAMBLE TO HUMANI-
TARIAN DOCUMENTS. REVISED VERSION EXPANDS GENERAL REFERENCE
TO PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS AMONG STATES TO INCLUDE
SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO NONINTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS
AND RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY, LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF STATES.
NUMBER OF WESTERN DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING CANADA, UK, FRG,
US, AND FRANCE REGRETTED THIS MODIFICATION, WITH UK STRESS-
ING THAT SINGLING OUR OF CERTAIN PRINCIPLES TO EXCLUSION
OF OTHERS GOES BEYOND TERMS OF HELSINKI MANDATE AND IS
NEITHER NECESSARY NOR DESIRABLE. WHILE EASTERN MOVE IS
WIDELY REGARDED AS CLEAR STEP BACKWARD, THERE ARE SOME
INDICATIONS THAT IT IS AT LEAST PARTIALLY MOTIVATED BY
TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS, IN ANTICIPATION OF WESTERN COUNTER-
DRAFT, WHICH WILL BE AVAILABLE NEXT WEEK. MEANWHILE,
DRAFTING ON SPECIFIC MEASURES CONTINUED SLOWLY IN THE
FOUR SOMCOMMITTEES, BURDENED AS MUCH BY LACK OF TACTICAL
COORDINATION AND PLANNING AMONG EC-9 AS BY EASTERN
RESISTANCE.

8. COMMENT: THE SOLZHENITSYN INCIDENT CAME AS THE
CONFERENCE WAS MAKING ITS FIRST REAL DRAFTING PROGRESS.
IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS, MOST WESTERN AND NEUTRAL
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DELEGATES AGREED THT DESPITE RELATIVELY HUMANE OUTCOME,
THE LONG-TERM EFFECT OF THE EXPULSION OF SOLZHENITSYN ON
DETENTA IN GENERAL AND CSCE IN PARTICULAR ARE NOT YET
CLEAR, AND WILL DEPEND IN LARGE PART ON PUBLIC REACTION
IN THE WEST DURING THE COMING WEEKS. WITHIN CSCE,
HOWEVER, WIDESPREAD FEELING THAT SOVIET INTEREST IN
DETENTE BROUGHT ABOUT MORE HUMANE TREATMENT OF SOLZHENITSYN
WILL CERTAINLY BE USED BY NEUTRALS AND SOME WESTERN
COUNTRIES AS ANOTHER ARGUMENT FOR POLITICAL FOLLOW-ON
ARRANGEMENTS. AS FOR THE SOVIETS, THEIR ATTI-
TUDES HERE TEND TO CONFIRM THAT THEY ARE STILL DETERMINED
TO PURSUE DETENTE.AS ONE SOVIET DELEGATE PUT IT AFTER
THE RUSSIAN WRITER HAD ARRIVED IN FRG, "NOW EVERYTHING IS
ALRIGHT."

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9. FOR THE MOMENT, IN ANY CASE, CSCE IS PUSHING SLOWLY AHEAD, UNAFFECTED IN ANY VISIBLE WAY BY EXTERNAL EVENTS. TIMELY PRESENTATION OF THE DUTCH DRAFT "FINAL ACT" SHOULD GIVE THE CONFERENCE A SENSE OF DIRECTION AND SERVE AS AN IMPETUS TO DRAFTING WORK. INDEED, REALIZATION THAT EVEN THE STUBBORN DUTCH NOW FORSEE A CONCLUSION MAY QUICKEN THE TEMPO OF WORK, AND PROVIDE AN EARLY SIGNAL THAT CSCE IS ROUNDING THE BEND BEFORE THE LONG HOME STRETCH.
END COMMENT.DALE

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